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ABSTRACT

Recent research has argued that negative stereotypes of older people are most likely to be found when age is a salient dimension for the judgements being made, e.g., when subjects' judgements of the elderly involve a comparison with younger people. When judgements of the elderly are made without an external reference group, such negative stereotypes are no longer found. Undergraduates (N=107) were presented with a set of 32 pictures, each of which had associated with it a positive or negative behavior. Subjects viewed equal numbers of older and younger male target people; the behaviors associated with each group (half positive and half negative) were equivalent. Results revealed that subjects rated the younger target people more favorably than the older group. A year later, subjects (N=74) drawn from the same subject pool saw 32 younger or older people exclusively; age was not a salient dimension. Subjects' ratings showed the opposite pattern from that found when age was a salient dimension. The results provide strong support for previous research findings. (Author/NRB)

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Salience of Age as a Factor in Eliciting Negative Stereotypes of the Elderly

by

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Salience of Age as a Factor in Eliciting Negative Stereotypes of the Elderly

The stereotypes that Americans hold of aging and the elderly have been the subject of a hundred or more investigations. Over the last 30 years, the most popular procedure for studying attitudes toward aging and the elderly has been through direct measures of such attitudes. Until recently, conclusions from this research have been that Americans hold predominantly negative views of old age and old people. The literature up to about 1972 has been reviewed by McTavish (1971) and by Bennet and Eckman (1973). The general theme of the interpretation of those results was summarized by McTavish as reflecting views that old people are generally tired, ill, not sexually interested, mentally slower, forgetful and less able to learn new things, grouchy, withdrawn, feeling sorry for themselves, less likely to participate in activities (except, perhaps, religion), isolated, in the least happy or fortunate time of life, unproductive, and defensive in various combinations and with varying emphases (p. 97).

More recent research is less conclusive as to whether there is a well-defined stereotype of the elderly. Some of these recent studies have confirmed the existence of stereotyped expectations, largely negative in nature (for example, Weinberger & Millham, 1975, with college students; Cyrus-Lutz & Baitz, 1972, reporting on psychiatrists' negative views of the elderly; Kayser & Minigerode, 1975, reporting on nursing students' work preferences; and finally, the Harris report, 1975, which reported evidence that Americans do not value old age as positively as younger ages, though strong negative stereotypes of the elderly were not consistently reported).

On the other hand, a number of recent studies have found no evidence for the existence of widespread stereotypes of the elderly. For example, Thorson, Whatley, and Hancock (1974) reported generally positive attitudes toward the elderly, as did Garfinckle's (1975) survey of therapists in a psychiatric clinic.

It is difficult to interpret these contradictory results. It might be that attitudes toward the elderly are changing from negative to positive, especially among better educated groups. Or it might be that respondents, especially educated ones, who are aware of the purpose of the attitude survey, are reluctant to express negative attitudes toward the elderly because they think it is wrong to do so. In a study of racial stereotyping, Sheikh and Miller (1971) pointed out that Americans in recent years have become more alert to the problem of stereotyping and more aware of its undesirability. If so, one would expect research that employed direct measures of attitudes toward the elderly to obtain spuriously unprejudiced results simply because respondents desired not to appear prejudiced. That sort of distortion would be less likely in research using indirect measures of attitudes, whose purpose is not so transparent.

Research Using Indirect Measures of Attitudes toward the Elderly

Indirect measures of attitudes attempt to conceal the purpose of the research from the respondents. Such measures ask for judgements of the elderly, or of any other target group, which disguise the purpose of the study. If there is a positive or a negative trend in those judgements, one infers a positive or negative bias toward the object of the attitudes. Although relatively few indirect studies of attitudes toward the elderly have been reported, their results support the existence

of predominantly negative stereotypes.

Rubin and Brown (1975) had college students communicate the rules of a simple game to somebody they could not see. Different groups of subjects thought the other person was old, middle-aged or young. Communications to middle-aged listeners were more complex than those to children or to elderly listeners, suggesting that subjects "talked down" to older people much as they would to a child.

Ryan and Copadano (1978) asked college students to infer personality characteristics of speakers by listening to their recorded voices. The age of the reader was never mentioned by the experimenters, although subjects were uniformly able to distinguish young speakers from old ones. Older women speakers were rated as more reserved, more passive, more "out-of it," and less flexible than younger women. Older men were rated as less flexible than younger men.

Palmore (1977) prepared a 25-item true-false test of facts and misconceptions about aging. Some errors imply a negative view of aging, others a positive view. Undergraduate and graduate students made more negative errors than positive ones, indicating that they held a negative view of the elderly. A group of faculty members in human development (who made few errors on the test as a whole) made about the same proportion of positive errors as negative ones, indicating little or no bias toward the elderly.

Thus, it appears that indirect measures of attitudes toward the elderly yield evidence of negative stereotypes, at least among college students, while the results of direct measures of attitudes are more equivocal. The equivocal nature of these results take on additional weight when one considers the results of research on impressions that

are formed of specific older individuals.

Impressions Formed of Specific Older People

A considerable number of studies have shown either (a) that more favorable impressions are formed of a specific old person than of a young one with the same qualities or (b) that the impressions of specific younger and older individuals are equally favorable. For example, Crockett, Press and Osterkamp (1979) had subjects read interviews with a woman who was said to be either 36 or 76. Those who read about the older rather than the younger woman reported that they would like her better and also judged that she would have fewer of the negative qualities that are stereotypically associated with old age and more of the positive stereotyped qualities. Similar results have been reported by Bell and Stanfield (1973), Weinberger and Millham (1975); Sherman, Gold and Sherman (1978) and Scheier, Carver, Schultz and Glass (1979). Also, Kogan and Shelton (1960) reported two related experiments of this type. In the first one, perceivers read a sketch of a man who was either a steel worker, a factory manager, or a college professor and who was either 33 or 74 years old. Impressions were strongly affected by the man's occupation but not by his age. In the second experiment, the authors had subjects compare what they thought a young worker and an old worker would be like for each of the same occupations. Only under those conditions, where the age dimension was more salient, were stereotyped age effects obtained.

The results of these experiments on impression formation are subject to different interpretations depending upon whether one believes that Americans hold negative attitudes toward aging and the elderly in general.

If general attitudes toward the elderly are negative, then we need to develop a theoretical explanation of why perceivers form favorable impressions of specific elderly individuals. Crockett et al. (1979) explained this discrepancy by calling on a "contrast" effect. Scheier et al. (1979) posit a "sympathy" effect for stigmatized groups. Linville and Jones (1980) explain this effect in terms of perceivers having a more complex representation of their peer group than of stereotyped groups.

The question still remaining, however, is whether people's attitudes toward the elderly are changing substantially in the positive direction (and thus the impressions individuals are forming of the elderly are simply a reflection of this), or whether the predominant view of adults toward the elderly is still negative. What is needed, then, is a task in which subjects are required to form an impression of specific individuals but in a context in which their general beliefs about the elderly are still salient. Such as task is provided by a paradigm known as the illusory correlation technique.

Illusory Correlation Procedures as Indirect Measures of Attitudes

Following Hamilton (1979), a stereotype can be seen as a statement about the relationship between a group membership variable and a behavioral dimension. To accurately observe a relationship between, for example, elderly people and rigid behavior requires a person to accurately note the relevant instances of rigid and of non-rigid behavior, accurately note whether each instance was committed by an elderly or a non-elderly person, and then to accurately store each instance in memory and correctly compute the strength of the relationship between these two variables. A variety of research has shown that a person's ability to do this is

subject to considerable bias.

One particular bias, an "illusory correlation," is said to exist when a perceiver judges that these two variables are more highly associated than is true in fact. The phenomenon was first reported by Chapman (1967) who presented perceivers with a large number of pairs of words. Some pairs of these words had strong associations to each other; other pairs had weak associations. In the presentation, however, all pairs of words were presented equally often. After the presentation had ended, subjects were asked to report how often each pair of words had been presented. They systematically over-estimated the joint occurrence of strongly-associated word pairs, suggesting that a person's beliefs about the extent of the association between the word-pairs systematically influenced subjects' judgements. Similarly, Chapman and Chapman (1967, 1969) and Starr and Katkin (1969) showed that the same phenomenon may account for alleged links between psychological symptoms and patients' responses to projective tests; naive laymen made the same connections as did trained clinicians between psychiatric categories and accepted "diagnostic signs" on the tests, even when the evidence presented argued for the opposite conclusion.

Finally, Hamilton and Rose (1980) applied this model to the phenomenon of stereotyping, and found that perceivers were prone to remember stereotyped qualities as being associated with individual members of the group concerned, even when the information presented showed no systematic connection in fact between group membership and stereotyped characteristics.

The first of the two experiments to be presented employed this procedure to test whether subjects had generally stereotyped views of the elderly. Perceivers viewed a large number of photographs, half of old

men and half of young ones. Each photograph was associated with a behavioral description, half of which depicted socially undesirable behavior, the other half socially desirable behavior. There was no systematic relationship between the desirability of the behavior and the age of the target person. Subsequently, subjects made judgements of the information shown them and described on a checklist their impressions of the old and young men.

Methods

Subjects were 107 male and female student volunteers from the Basic Communication Program at the University of Kansas. Participation was one way of fulfilling a course requirement. The protocols of two subjects were subsequently discarded, one because less than half of the items had been completed, the other because the subject's questionnaire was missing one page.

Procedure. The experiment was conducted in groups that ranged in size from 5 to 15. Participants were informed that we were studying how people process and retain information which is presented visually. They were told they would see a series of stimuli, each containing a picture of a person and a single sentence which described some behavior the person had performed. They were to pay careful attention to each stimulus and to think about the person pictured. They were not permitted to discuss the stimuli or to take notes about them.

They were then shown a series of 32 Xeroxed photographs, each accompanied by a sentence describing some behavior. The 32 stimuli were printed on 8½ x 11 paper and were presented with an opaque projector.

Each presentation paired a picture of a young man or an old one with a behavioral description that was either positive or negative. First, a sample picture was shown and questions were answered. Then each of the 32 pictures and associated statements was presented in turn. Stimuli were displayed for eight seconds, with a five-second inter-stimulus interval.

After they had viewed the photographs, subjects were given a booklet in which to record their responses. They were first reminded that some of the pictures had been of young men and some of old ones. They were asked to think for a few minutes about all of the old men they had seen and then for a few minutes about the young ones. They were to try to form an impression of what each group had been like. Upon a signal from the experimenter, they then completed the booklet at their own speed. When all subjects were finished, they were informed of the purpose of the study and discussed it in detail.

Selection of Photographs. Thirty-two pictures of young men and twenty-one of old ones were selected from such sources as yearbooks and magazines. These pictures were then photographed and reduced to a standard size. Subsequently, each photograph was rated on a 9-point scale of physical attractiveness by a sample of graduate students at the University of Kansas. Sixteen photographs of young men and sixteen of old men were selected in such a way that (a) they spanned the range of ratings from very attractive to very unattractive and (b) the attractiveness ratings associated with the young and old photographs had virtually the same mean and variance.

Behavioral statements. Sixteen personality traits were chosen, eight positive and eight negative. For each, four concrete behaviors

were written. The eight positive traits were experienced, kind, calm, interesting, cheerful, optimistic, warm, and generous. The negative traits included absent-minded, touchy, rigid, depressed, foolish, cold, impatient, and suspicious.

Four single-sentence behaviors were written to correspond to each of these 16 characteristics. For example, for the trait absent-minded the following behaviors were used:

A.P. often absent-mindedly forgets to give his wife important phone messages.

J.D. is so absent-minded he misses important meetings because they slip his mind.

H.C. is often late paying his bills because he absent-mindedly forgets to send in the check.

L.O. is often late for appointments because he is so absent-minded he forgets what time he is supposed to be there.

For the trait generous, the following behaviors were used:

J.B. generously lends his tools to people when they need them.

R.H. generously donates money to charity drives.

C.H. is a generous person who enjoys helping other people.

M.P. is generous and often surprises people with gifts.

Pairings of photographs with behaviors. Experimental stimuli were prepared by xeroxing the appropriate combinations of photographs and behavioral descriptions.

Because each subject saw only 32 photographs, while there were 64 different behavioral descriptions, different groups of subjects (approximately equal in number) were shown different combinations of photographs and descriptions. To control for the particular behaviors associated with old and young people, half of the subjects in each group saw one pairing of behaviors with age, the other half saw the opposite pairing.

For each personality quality, two of the associated behaviors were paired with photographs of young men, the other two with photographs of old men. To make sure that the behaviors were congruent with the attractiveness of the person, positive qualities were associated with photographs that had been rated as attractive and negative qualities were associated with photographs that had been rated as unattractive.

Photographs were presented in two orders, one the reverse of the other, which were arranged at random save that extended runs of pictures of old or young men, or of statements referring to the same trait, were not allowed.

Thus, each subject viewed 32 photographs and their associated behaviors. Four photographs were associated with behaviors that reflected each of eight different personality traits. Half of the behaviors for each trait were assigned to photographs of young men, half to photographs of old men. Half of the behaviors were socially desirable, half were undesirable.

Dependent Measures

Subjects filled out a booklet that contained three different questionnaires. In the first one, after they had thought about the 16 young and 16 old men as two distinct groups, they were asked to rate each group on 16 personality dimensions. These dimensions were previously employed in a study by Crockett, Press, and Osterkamp (1979) of impressions formed of old people and young ones. Of these dimensions, three positive and two negative ones were traits used in the initial stimulus material. Half of the subjects in each group were asked to rate the old men first, the other half rated the young men first.

On a second questionnaire, subjects made three kinds of estimates: (a) they estimated the proportion of desirable and undesirable qualities that had been assigned to young men and to old ones in the stimulus material they viewed, being sure to make the proportions add to 100%; (b) they judged the proportion of the young and the old men they would like, dislike and be undecided about; (c) they judged what proportion of the young and the old men had been described in terms that were typical or untypical for their age.

The final questionnaire in the booklet included all 64 behavioral descriptions, both those the subject had seen and those the subject had not seen. Descriptions were arranged in random order. For those they had actually seen, subjects were asked to indicate whether each had been ascribed to a young man or an old man; for those they had not seen, subjects were asked to guess whether each description had been ascribed to a young man or to an old one. Since these results add little to those from the other measures, they will not be presented.

Results

Probability Estimates

As may be seen in Table 1, subjects estimated that a significantly higher proportion of desirable behaviors had been ascribed to young men than to old ones. At the same time, they believed that the behaviors that were ascribed to old men were significantly more typical for their age. Their judgements of what proportion of the two groups of men they would like did not differ as a function of age; on all three measures, results were unaffected by which set of photographs and behavior subjects had viewed.

Ratings of Personality Characteristics

Subjects were also asked to judge how characteristic each of sixteen traits would be of the old men and young men whose pictures they had viewed. Five of these traits had been included in the stimulus material while 11 had not. The results were identical regardless of whether the traits were or were not presented.

For 12 of the 16 characteristics, ratings of the old men as a group differed significantly from those of the young men as a group (see Table 2). For all 12 traits, the differences were in the stereotyped direction; the old men as a group were rated as more miserly, grouchy, complaining, stubborn, meddlesome, touchy, rigid, experienced, and wise and as less productive, active, and feeling good about themselves. For the four traits in which ratings did not differ significantly, in three (dependent, interesting and kind) the ratings were in the stereotyped direction; in the other (selfish) they were in the opposite direction. On all of these traits, results were unaffected either by the set of photographs or the behaviors subjects had viewed.

Discussion

Clearly, these results reveal an age bias that is predominantly negative in tone. Subjects judged that behaviors associated with young men were more desirable than those associated with old men, but that the behaviors of old men were more typical for their age. Furthermore, compared to young men, old men were judged to be more likely to be touchy, rigid, miserly, grouchy, complaining, stubborn and meddlesome, and less likely to feel good about themselves or to be productive. On the positive side, however, old men were viewed as more experienced,

more interesting, wiser, less foolish, more generous and warmer.

Only one of these qualities, experienced, is obviously acquired with age. The others constitute expectations about old men which probably come from a general cultural stereotype. Such beliefs undoubtedly influenced subjects' judgements of what they had seen.

It should be pointed out, furthermore, that these responses reveal a differentiated, largely negative but occasionally positive set of expectations about old men, not a general tendency to rate them negatively. This provides further evidence that subjects had a fairly elaborate stereotype of the elderly, and that these beliefs influenced their judgements. If subjects perceived the elderly in uniformly negative terms, this presumably would have been reflected in the judgements they made.

Also of interest is the fact that the subjects who volunteered for this study were chosen from a subject pool which had been used a year earlier in a study (Crockett et al., 1979) that has already been described. This prior study found strong evidence for more favorable evaluations of an elderly compared to a similarly described younger person. Despite the one year gap in these two studies it seems reasonable to assume that the two groups of subjects were in fact similar in their general attitudes toward the elderly, particularly since the results of each of these studies is consistent with other work that has been done.

How then do we explain this discrepancy? Kogan (1979) argues strongly that studies which find a predominantly negative stereotype of the elderly have made age a salient characteristic for subjects. In the present study, for example, the 32 photos which were shown each subject clearly varied on the dimension of age. In addition, subjects

were asked, at the end of the stimulus presentation, to form an impression of the older people as a group, and of the younger people as a group. They were then asked to fill out the experimental protocol.

In contrast, in Crockett et al. (1979) the age of the target person was embedded in various other information. Each subject was given information about one person only. Age then was not a particularly salient dimension and the results of this experiment did not show a negative stereotype of the elderly.

To further explore the effects of salience of age as a factor in eliciting stereotypes of the elderly, a second study was run using virtually the same experimental procedure. We reasoned that if age was not made a salient dimension, then subjects' judgements about both the younger and the older group of people should be significantly more similar to each other than was the case in the first study.

Experiment II

In this follow-up study, subjects were shown photographs of either younger people or older people, along with the same accompanying behavioral descriptions. Aside from this one difference, the same procedure was used.

Methods

Subjects were 74 male and female volunteers from the Basic Communication Program at the University of Kansas. Subjects in this study were run one year after the initial study, and used subject volunteers from the same subject pool.

Procedure. This experiment was conducted in the identical manner as Study I with the following exception. In this study, subjects were to view target persons from one age group only. Since we felt it was important that subjects be shown the identical amount of information as in the previous study, the same number of xeroxed photographs with their accompanying behaviorial descriptions were presented, 32 pictures in each experimental condition. This was accomplished by presenting the 16 pictures associated with each of the two age groups twice, once in the first half and once in the second half of the stimulus display. Both pictures, of course, needed equivalent behaviorial descriptions. This was done by assigning the two identical pictures either socially desirable or socially undesirable behaviors. Equivalent assignments were made in each of the two age conditions, so that the only difference between the two conditions was the age of the target people.

Dependent measures. Subjects filled out a booklet that contained two different questionnaires. After being asked to think about their impression of the 16 people they had seen, they were asked to rate each group on ten of the 16 personality dimensions used in the previous study. Inadvertently, a page containing the other six personality dimensions was left out of each experimental protocol.

On a second questionnaire, subjects again estimated (a) the proportion of desirable and undesirable qualities that had been assigned to the target people they had seen; (b) the proportion of the young and the old target people they would like, dislike and be undecided about, and (c) what proportion of the target people they had seen were typical or untypical for their age. The reference to the age of the people they had seen was made with reference to subjects' final judgements

only, and was presented on the very last page of the experimental protocol.

The third questionnaire in the booklet used in the previous study asked subjects to indicate whether each behavioral description they had seen had been ascribed to a younger or an older target person. This task was not relevant since subjects in the present study viewed target people in one age group only.

Results

Since we were most interested in comparing subjects' judgements in this study to those of the first study, the two experiments were treated as a 2 x 2 between groups factorial design, with the two between groups factors being Age (young vs. old target people) and Viewing Condition (viewing the two age groups together or separately). This is a more conservative test of the data from the two studies than doing four sets of comparisons, one set respectively for each pair of adjacent cells in the 2 x 2 design.

The findings for all but one of the proportionality judgements and for eight of the two personality dimensions showed a highly significant interaction ($p < .001$) between Age and Viewing Condition. Since these were both the most consistent findings as well as the findings we were most interested in, the results for the interaction effects for each of the dependent variables are presented in Table 3. In order to determine which cell means differed significantly, analysis by Neumann-Keuls was done on each pair of adjacent means. These results are also presented in Table 3.

As expected, there was a markedly different pattern of judgements in the second study, where subjects viewed one group only and age was

not a salient dimension as opposed to the first study, where age was a highly salient factor. Somewhat unexpectedly, subjects' probability estimates and their ratings of the ten personality characteristics with respect to the older target people were remarkably identical from the first to the second study. Results of the post hoc analysis showed no significant differences on any of the dependent measures.

The pattern of results for subjects' judgements of the younger target people, however, showed large differences between the first and the second study, such that subjects' ratings in the separate viewing condition were consistently more negative than in the condition in which people from both age groups were viewed together. Thus, the younger people viewed separately as compared to together were seen as having been associated with a significantly lower proportion of desirable behaviors, were rated as being significantly less likeable, significantly more miserly, feeling less good about themselves, less active, less productive, more touchy, less kind, and (inexplicably) significantly more experienced. In fact, on every dimension except experienced, the younger target people were rated more negatively in the second compared to the first study.

Discussion

Clearly then the results showed substantial differences between the experiment in which age was a highly salient dimension for judgement and the experiment in which age was just one of the many aspects of the people presented. As Kogan (1979) notes in his analysis of elderly stereotyping; "When categories of "old," "middle-aged," and "young" are provided to subjects, a natural cognitive process is set in motion

in which the age groups are set apart, rendered more homogenous and different from each other than they are in fact" (pp. 27-28). In agreement with his analysis, when age was salient, older people were viewed as being more highly consistent with the predominantly negative elderly stereotype (relative to judgements made of the subjects' peers) than was the case when age was not a highly salient dimension for judgement.

It should be noted that an alternative explanation for the differences between these two studies exists. Since the two studies were run a year apart, it is possible that differences between the two groups of subjects account for the results found. This explanation seems somewhat implausible, however, since (a) subjects were drawn from the same subject pool, and more importantly, (b) it is hard to imagine subjects' evaluations of their peers changing so dramatically in that brief period of time.

To us a more plausible explanation can be found in a more detailed examination of the pictures used for the younger people. McArthur (1980) argues that perceivers are highly responsive to the salient or distinctive aspects of people they see. In forming their impression of others, these more salient aspects of the person are weighed to a differentially greater extent. In what is admittedly a post hoc analysis of these pictures, we noticed that the unattractive younger males were drawn almost entirely from a mid-1960's yearbook from a predominently male technical school. In addition to possessing unattractive physical attributes, the appearance of males in these pictures was somewhat dated. One explanation for the results of the second study, then, is that certain attributes of these unattractive younger people were the most salient

part of the stimulus display of the younger target persons, and thus differentially influenced subjects' ratings in a negative direction. A similar explanation would argue that markedly unattractive peers are themselves a highly salient stimulus and are attended to to a greater extent, much as stigmatized people have been shown to be a highly salient stimulus (Langer, Taylor, Fiske, and Chanow, 1976).

If this explanation, or one that is similar, is in fact accurate, it makes Kogan's (1979) argument about stimulus saliency all the more cogent. What appears most salient to us however is that in the first study, where age was a highly salient dimension, these same younger target people were rated significantly more positively than the older target people.

The results of these two studies, taken together, illustrate Hamilton's (1979) assertion that "perceiver's are differentially attentive to salient or distinctive stimuli and that such differential attention can have pronounced influences on social perception" (p. 59). Taking into account the results of studies such as Crockett et al. (1979) that present information about one older or younger person only, it appears that age may not be as salient a characteristic as has previously been thought to be the case when forming impressions of specific older people. In fact, unless the older person acted in an extreme enough manner to elicit the perceivers' negative stereotype of the elderly, age would be just one of many factors influencing the perceiver's impression of that older individual.

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Table 1. Mean Proportions of Old and Young Men Estimated to Have Shown Desirable and Undesirable Behaviors, to Be Typical for Their Age, and to Be Likeable

Behavior	Age		F-value	p-value
	Young	Old		
% desirable	61.2	54.4	10.64	$<.01$
% desirable	38.3	45.6		
Typical				
% typical for age	50.5	62.4	43.12	$<.001$
% not typical for age	31.8	21.8	30.65	$<.001$
% in which undecided	16.8	14.7		
Likeable				
% I would like	45.8	48.3	1.92	n.s.
% I would dislike	31.7	29.9	0.88	n.s.
% in which undecided	22.6	21.6		

Table 2: Mean Scale Ratings of Old and Young Men on Personality Characteristics That Are Part of the Stereotype of the Elderly[1]

Personality Characteristics	Ratings of Young Men	Ratings of Old Men	F value	p
Negative Stereotype Characteristics				
Miserly	5.90	3.99	50.93	<.001
Dependent	4.83	4.50	1.75	----
Grouchy	5.74	4.61	24.86	<.001
Selfish	4.90	5.26	1.95	----
Feels good about self[2]	3.66	4.40	7.83	<.01
Complaining	5.03	4.17	9.51	<.01
Productive[2]	3.51	4.10	7.47	<.01
Stubborn	4.70	3.31	27.71	<.001
Meddlesome	5.87	4.61	32.94	<.001
Active[2]	2.90	5.01	70.30	<.001
Touchy	4.64	3.68	9.88	<.01
Rigid	4.87	3.08	42.74	<.001
Positive Stereotype Characteristics				
Wise	5.23	2.86	134.59	<.001
Interesting	3.23	2.85	2.31	----
Experienced	5.28	2.39	162.40	<.001
Kind	3.70	3.46	1.49	----

NOTE: [1]A low score indicates greater possession of each attribute.

[2]The reverse quality occurs in the stereotype of the elderly.

Table 3

Mean Ratings of Old and Young Men in Study I
(where people from both age groups were viewed together)
and in Study II
(where people from only one group were viewed)[1]

Behaviors	Viewing Condition	Age: Young	Age: Old	F-value for interaction	
% desirable	Together	61.2^{B}_{a}	54.4^{A}	20.18	$p < .001$
	Separately	43.6^{A}_{b}	56.1^{B}		
% typical for age	Together	50.5^{A}	62.4^{B}	13.33	$p < .001$
	Separately	44.9^{A}	67.3^{B}		
% not typical for age	Together	31.8^{B}	21.8^{A}	1.02	n.s.
	Separately	35.8^{B}	23.3^{A}		
% subject would like	Together	45.8_{b}	48.3	13.73	$p < .001$
	Separately	28.6^{A}_{a}	50.9^{B}		
% subject would dislike	Together	31.7_{a}	29.9	11.15	$p < .001$
	Separately	51.2^{B}_{b}	34.3^{A}		
Negative Stereotype Characteristics[2]					
Miserly	Together	5.90^{B}_{b}	3.99^{A}	21.42	$p < .001$
	Separately	3.98_{a}	4.53		
Feels good about self[3]	Together	3.66^{A}_{a}	4.40^{B}	27.32	$p < .001$
	Separately	5.80^{A}_{b}	4.21^{B}		
Complaining	Together	5.03^{B}	4.17^{A}	2.04	n.s.
	Separately	4.62	4.38		

continued

Negative Stereotype Characteristics[2]	Viewing Condition	Age: Young	Age: Old	F-value for interaction	
Dependent	Together	4.83	4.50	1.13	n.s.
	Separately	4.45	4.76		
Active[3]	Together	2.90^{A}_{a}	5.01^{B}	22.08	$p < .001$
	Separately	5.10_{b}	4.47		
Productive[3]	Together	3.51_{a}	4.10	54.85	$p < .001$
	Separately	5.02^{B}_{b}	3.65^{A}		
Touchy	Together	4.64^{B}_{b}	3.68^{A}	27.88	$p < .001$
	Separately	3.55_{a}	3.88		
Rigid	Together	4.87^{B}	3.08^{A}	10.66	$p < .001$
	Separately	4.10^{B}	3.21^{A}		
Positive Stereotype Characteristics					
Experienced	Together	5.28^{B}_{b}	2.39^{A}	6.15	$p = .01$
	Separately	4.53^{B}_{a}	2.65^{A}		
Kind	Together	3.70_{a}	3.46	19.57	$p < .001$
	Separately	4.62^{B}_{b}	3.88^{A}		
Number of Subjects	Together	105	105		
	Separately	40	34		

[1] Row means with different superscripts and column means with different subscripts differ from each other at the $p < .05$ level by Neumann-Keuls.

[2] A low score indicates greater possession of each attribute.

[3] The reverse quality occurs in the stereotype of the elderly.